/89 cont./

*101 d) DOXKÁ POARÁ OR TUYUKA

1) People-Name-Language -- In the Tukano language they are called Dyí-khãra (Dyi-khãna), and in their own idiom Doxká poára or Doxká fhwará or foará; or, as a contraction, Doxká-rá [317] (sing., masc. Doxká-poarõ; fem. doxká-poaro). Tuyuka is a Nheengatú word that means clay, mud; and, with more accuracy, the clay or potter's earth used to make the cooking pots. The Tukano explain /90/ that the name is due to the fact that they live in the land where there is the clay for pots. It is easy to grant that in the beginning this clay, which later was found in many other beds on the Uaupés and other rivers, was only found • [323] there. Because of this very fact, would not the Tuyuka have been the first potters? The ceramic art today is common and excellent [501] in the various tribes. The Tuyuka at present have the reputation of being specialized canoeists.

[197] Their language belongs to the Tukano family (cf. our works "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/") with traces of Karaiba, [142] Chestmir points out. The idioms of the Tuyuka and the Bará are the closest ones of the Tukano language, affirms Koch G. He distinguishes these two Tuyuka somatic types: the slender /Port. fino, fine, slender, delicate/ and the stout /Port. grosso, coarse, stout/ or corpulent (Zwei Iahre, 202).

[582] They do not marry the Desana.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They fluctuate around half a [161] thousand members (378 in Brazil, in Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/; we know that they are more numerous in Colombian territory), and their present habitat is the headwaters of the Tiquié. Frei Gregório, with the help of the Director of the Indians, Jesuino Cordeiro, managed to found the aldeia of S. Pedro do Tiquié with Tuyuka Indians, where they are still found, but living in the maloca (in 1947).

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177 2) Household goods and utilitarian objects.

41 The house of the forest dweller who has been in the service of the "white" or has traded with them now displays many objects obtained from the civilized, such as kettles, mugs, ax, bottles, fishhooks, scissors, hammocks, and even trunks or suitcases in which to keep their clothes. Except for the cotton hammock, which among the tribes of the Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí is today almost as common or more so than the native one made of tucum, the other objects are rarities in the conjunction of the utensils of native manufacture.

We shall now recall these, and later on we shall describe the ornaments and musical instruments.

• 323 a) Ceramics.

462 All the ceramic work falls to the woman; looking for the clay, to the man.

*192 1) Earthen pots and cooking pots. Camotim or camocim
323 is a regional term of the Amazon, and a generic one of the Língua Geral or Nheengatú, equivalent to pot, and is used to designate vessels of very different shape and dimensions, according to their use. Among the products of native ceramics, some are similar to a common pan of /180/ ours, are called ki-pu-tõ (Nheengatú, yapepú), and are used to prepare mingau /a manioc dish/ and quinhapira /a fish dish/. There also exist:

wai-doá-tõ, to cook the fish;

wai-baarí-pá, in which to serve the fish to the guests;

pêru-tõ, a kind of large vessel in which to keep caxirí. They distinguish the:

pêru-ahũa aparí-pa, large black cooking pot in which the beijú caxirí is fermented;

pêru-poorí-pá, in which the caxirí already prepared is kept;

sũxtõ-wõ is the water pot for carrying water;

kaxpí-tõ, the one in which the kaxpí is distributed (VI -- 4, 1 (3)).

/180 cont./

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• 323

They call the vessels of flatter shape baxpá, such as porringers or plates of different sizes, some quite small, baxpáryakã̄, used as spoons, which they do not know.

All these vessels are manufactured with the clay called dyí (Nh. tuyuka), which is found in compact strata, blue or dark green in color, in certain places, especially on the banks or in the bed of the watercourses. The clay is extracted with the help of splinters of wood, in fine layers, and is kept in humid places and well covered with leaves.

For the manufacture of the vessels the woman kneads the clay very well, with the addition of ewȭ (ocher), and for each five parts of mud, one of ashes of caripé bark (13),

[824]

13. Trees of several species of the family of the Rosaceae (Licánia útilis and licánia myristicóides, Benthe., licánia scraba, Hook). Their ashes will give a certain porosity to the vessel and not let the clay crack.

reduced to powder and sifted. The mass is left to rest for a few days.

There is no mold whatsoever to facilitate the manufacturing; nevertheless, the vessels come out quite regular and well proportioned. Once the mud is prepared in the shape of a rope, torȭrĩ-da (Uaupés tonȭnĩ-da and toninĩ-dà), of half a meter, starting from the bottom, then, with these ropes of clay, the woman starts raising the edges, pressing one rope on another and smoothing it well. Afterwards, with a piece of cuia /gourd/, wahá-pe'toró (Nh. peruta), she starts polishing and smoothing it better, inside and out. Once the vessel is made, it is left to dry in the shade, and when it has acquired a certain consistency, it is smoothed well, until it becomes glossy, using a round pebble, which they call wa'té-khá.

/180 cont./

323 The last operation consists of the firing. Around the vessels are kindled some logs of firewood; little by little, other logs are added, so that the vessels are surrounded by the flames until they are well fired, that is, to the point of ringing. With half an hour /181/ of intense fire, they are ready; some will show a whitish color, others, a reddish one. These are the ones that are better baked.

*[192] In order to make the vessels dark, glossy, and impermeable, they start by rubbing them well, inside and out, with leaves of cubio /Solanum/, extóa pũrĩ, or of abio /Lucuma/, kãrẽ pũrĩ. They then kindle a small fire with wet leaves, so that there is a great deal of smoke, which is first received in the interior part of the pot or cooking pot, turned upside down, and then also on the exterior part. Finally, the vessel will be washed and will then display the dark color, almost black, fast, and, moreover, it has been made impermeable.

The vessels are relatively light, with the durability suitable for their use. They can be exposed to more intense fire, without cracking or letting the water or the liquid that is kept in them flow out. One sees some large vessels almost a meter in diameter and more than half a meter in height, therefore with a capacity of several hundred liters.

*[192] The vessel for the caapí, kaxpi-tõ, differs from the others not only in shape, since it is similar to an amphora with a narrow mouth and provided with two small side handles, but also in being decorated with designs.

The kaxpí-tõ, after use in the feasts, is regularly kept outside the maloca, hanging on one of the corner posts. We were unable to learn the reason for this custom.

354 2) Stove or trivet. The stove always consists of three vessels
*[192] of baked clay, called vitari-a (in Nheengatú, itacurúa), among which the firebrands are placed. They are cylindrical in shape, but with the bases somewhat widened, almost as if they were two superimposed truncated cones, and this gives them greater stability. They measure approximately 25 centimeters in height and 10 in diameter. They are quite light and with the advantage of

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764 2) The interment. There is no fixed interval between the verification of the death and the burial. One even notices a certain anxiety to bury the corpse as soon as possible. And the cases 763 in which the preparations for this start when the individual is still 764 alive, and even has use of his senses, are not infrequent (88).

[797]

88. One of the Salesian Missionary Sisters, passing through Umarí (river Uaupés), saw in the maloca four holes in the floor. Surprised she asked the reason. It was that there were four children with whooping cough, and, foreseeing their death, they had already prepared the graves.

Another striking episode took place in Taracuá (river Uaupés) in 1934. The tuxáua Miguel, of the Tukano tribe, was near death, and his subjects prepared the coffin-canoe and placed the sick man there, almost suffocating him with his clothes, hammock, eating cuia, etc. The Missionaries arrived still in time, and, noticing that he was still alive, they moved him to the hospital, and actually he did not die until three days later.

• [323] Although they are familiar with ceramics and know how to make vessels of large dimensions, they are not in the habit of burying the cadavers in vessels, nor are there any indications of their having had such a custom.

764 The burial is permanent, and the traditional form is the canoe-
501 coffin, yuxkõ-sõ-koró, that is, in a canoe (89).

*[192]

89. Occasionally, lacking a canoe, we have heard of burial in the caxirí tub in Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí). Pe. André Linssen, Missionary of the Monfort Congregation, did a burial in a mat in Acuaricuara (Colombia,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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CUBEO

462 simple basket is often a matter of several weeks. Every man has at
461 his side, so to speak, a number of unfinished objects which he hopes to get at before too long.

462 The sexual division of labor in manufactures is rather firmly main-
● 323 tained. I learned of few objects in use that were not made by a member of the proper sex. Young men are drawn to pottery making, but they may handle clay in a playful manner only. They make pots and dishes in strange shapes, working rather expertly. Such dishes are given to children as toys and are soon destroyed. Children, boys and girls, play with clay, making small animal or human figures and quickly destroying them. No permanent clay figures are ever made. Serious pottery work is an annual affair, undertaken by the women when the falling river has exposed the clay banks. All at once the women working together renew the household ceramic ware.

342 Manufacture is most often a group activity, and like all group ac-
[461] tivities is regarded by the Indians as a pleasurable recreation. The
[476] exception to this rule is perhaps housebuilding, which is often strenuous. Even then, when the exertion of the task has broken the spell of good feeling, the men stop and turn to another task. A large maloca can be a very long time in building. Among the *Bahúkiwa* a house begun when I arrived was not yet complete when I left almost a year later. A house must be built by a group working together not only for technical reasons, but in obedience to the principle that all who are going to live in it must work on it.

Building the communal house is a major technical and social enterprise. It tests the capabilities of the headman and the morale of the community. The true maloca is a solid structure built with great care, skill, and concern for details. Temporary houses may be slipshod in construction, but when a house is slipshod it is either clearly designated as temporary or it will be a cause of shame. Every
342 part of the house is built with the greatest care, but nothing reveals
284 more clearly the Cubeo concern for combining structural integrity and aesthetic design than the lashings that hold all the materials together. The most conspicuous lashings are those that bind the main beams. The builders start with temporary house posts and with temporary lashings. Finally, when the entire structure is in place, an expert lasher goes over the entire inner structure, replacing the beams and rebinding them in a consistent pattern, using carefully chosen
342 lianas. The Cubeo are painstaking in all crafts, but the maloca is
[114] their supreme creation. I was able to observe almost every stage in
[461] the construction of a maloca among the *Bahúkiwa*. I do not recall that a single bundle of roofing thatch was laid under pressure or

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

of the men's entrance. Boys carefully pick the tobacco leaves one by one and lay them out on cane matting to dry. An Indian sits in the shade of the *maloca's* overhanging eaves and starts to make string from strands of tough *cumare*. His graceful movements as he rolls the fibre with the palm of the hand on his shining thigh, the string looped around his right big toe, are like those used in the making of Venetian glass. An older man sits near by, deeply engrossed in the construction of a large, shallow cassava basket, a maze of cane strips almost hiding his wizened face.

The women file through their entrance, their great loads of manioc white and clean after their river washing. They pause for a moment or two and eat some cassava or the pineapples and wild fruit which they have just brought back, but soon they are working again, pulverizing the manioc on the shield-shaped wooden grating boards which have minute flints or tough palm spines set into their baked-clay surface. They work as a team, some grating, others washing the manioc in vast basket-sieves slung between wooden tripods, while yet others extract the poisonous prussic acid by placing the grated manioc flour in a snake-like *matapí*, a long squeezer of plaited cane. With the upper end looped over a pole, a woman stretches its mesh by sitting on a second pole placed in the lower loop. The *matapí* contracts and the poisonous juice runs out.

When the flour from the *matapí* is ready it is placed on the large flat ovens to make rough cassava pancakes, the Amazonian daily bread, which they eat at every meal together with fish and meat brought back from the forest. The starch from the washed manioc is also baked to make wafer-thin toasted biscuits to add to the *chicha*. Some of the flour is spread thinly on another oven to make the nutty grounds of *farinha*, and the liquid from the washing and squeezing is boiled to neutralize the poison, then poured into the long canoe-trough to make *chicha*.

The noise of grating and the creaking of the tripods lasts all afternoon. A girl feeds her pet parrot some insects, then, taking a strand of *cumare* and winding it around her toe, she starts plaiting string for a hammock to replace her old one. Squatting on the ground, an old woman kneads clay and wood ash. She rolls the clay mixture into coils on a flat board and between the palms of her hands. Then she places them coil upon coil about a clay base, smooths the clay with a pebble and leaves the completed pot in the shade of the *maloca*. Later it will be put on a fire and surrounded with wood bark and ash to bake. Occasionally we saw an iron pot, which at some time in the past must have been traded up the rivers from the Caquetá or the Vaupés. These were sufficiently few to be highly treasured and hadn't affected their own

ABOVE: *The shaped but unfinished canoe is dragged down to the river.* BELOW: *Then it is warped open over a fire.*